

Sen. Thomas Eagleton

Reared From Boyhood To Become a Politician

By Christopher Lydon

MIAMI BEACH, July 14 (AP)—"I'm flabbergasted," said Thomas Eagleton, regarding his selection as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate.

Yet the boyish Missouri senator was spotted some time ago by colleagues and the press gallery as one of the brightest and most ambitious young stars of the Senate, and a variety of subtle balances in his political profile suggest a casting director's idea for a running mate.

An anti-war liberal from a moderately conservative border state, he is a Catholic and a city boy. His start in political life as a prosecutor gives him some claim to the titles of crime-fighter and reformer, but he is a product and friend of Missouri's muscular regular Democratic organization.

A progressive on race, he has remained popular in the South-eastern part of his state. A Midwesterner, he has Eastern credentials as a graduate of Amherst College and the Harvard Law School.

In becoming at the age of 31 the youngest attorney general Missouri ever had, and in beating first an incumbent Democrat, Edward V. Long, and then a powerful Republican congressman, Thomas R. Curtis, for his Senate seat in 1968, he proved himself a superb campaigner and an uncommonly adroit politician.

Friendliness and Informality

Traveling with Sen. Eagleton two years ago, Calvin Trillin wrote in the New Yorker magazine, "In small Missouri towns Eagleton has the advantage of a friendliness and informality that make it seem natural for people who have just met him to call him by his first name, even if he is a senator."

"He also has to his advantage a Midwestern non-sensational way of not taking himself completely seriously, so that he can tell a group of college students that he is always available to deliver his 'superbly emotional commencement address' or can arrive at a library ground-breaking ceremony held outdoors in a driving rain and announce to the committee that the only library ground-breaking speech he knows takes 40 minutes."

Thomas Francis Eagleton, born in St. Louis on Sept. 4, 1929, was groomed for politics from an early age.

His father, the late Mark Eagleton, was a successful lawyer and part-time politician who won election to the city school board and the board of police commissioners but ran unsuccessfully for the St. Louis mayor's office and thereafter

invested his ambitions in his son. Father and son had gone together to the Republican National Convention in 1940, an experience that turned them both into Democrats. Six years later, when Thomas was 16, his father took him to hear Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo. Even then his father was having him tutored on national and international affairs and hired a ranking St. Louis school official to coach him on speech.

"Campus Politician" at Amherst

After the St. Louis County Day School, he entered Amherst, where, he says, he was "the Jim Farley of my class, the campus politician," and graduated cum laude in 1950. At Harvard, he read five newspapers a day and took a special interest in Adlai E. Stevenson's campaign.

Back in St. Louis in 1953, he became assistant general counsel to Anheuser-Busch, Inc., the brewery, and practiced law with his father. He won his first political race to become St. Louis Missouri attorney in 1956 and was elected state attorney general in 1960.

Consumer protection was one of his primary interests, according to Al Stephan, a St. Louis lawyer who worked with him then. Sen. Eagleton was shocked by the volume of citizen letters complaining of fraudulent contractors and shoddy goods, yet he had almost no statutory power to act.

"So Eagleton devised a letter," Mr. Stephan recounted, "that we sent to each company that was subject of a complaint and we told them that we would give them 16 days to get things right or we would put them permanently on record as a violator of the Consumer Protection D-vision. That didn't mean anything either, but it sure worked wonders."

"Haven't Made a Political Enemy"

Robert J. Koster, also a St. Louis lawyer and an old friend, recalled Sen. Eagleton as "the one politician I've known who hasn't made a political enemy," although he sometimes went to great lengths to succeed. In a heated primary battle for the governorship nomination in 1964, Mr. Koster said, Attorney General Eagleton mysteriously disappeared on the weekend of the Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner. Eager to stay out of the fray, Sen. Eagleton was finally found at the St. Louis Cardinals' spring training camp, where he explained simply, "I'm a baseball nut."

That fall, however, he was the candidate for lieutenant governor on the winning ticket with Gov. Warren E. Hearnes. In 1968, he won the Senate nomination with 57 percent of the vote in a three-way primary against Sen. Long and True Davis. He defeated Mr. Curtis in the November election by just under 35,000 votes.

Early in the Senate campaign he had identified himself as an aggressive critic of the war policy in Vietnam, then in the hands of a Democratic administration. "The first matter of business," he said in June, 1968, "must be to seek a cease-fire."

In the Senate, he was a member of the anti-war bloc from the start, and supported, among other things, the amendment by Sen. George S. McGovern of South Dakota and Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon to cut off war appropriations. In July, 1969, he called for a new government of South Vietnam as a first step to peace.

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On April 29, 1972, he criticized President Nixon for stepping up the bombing. "We must leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese," he declared. "We have given our best and we can give no more. Our Vietnam policy should be one of disengagement. Our only goal should be the release of our prisoners of war, and we can only pursue this policy at the conference table."

He led some of the Senate



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Agnew on the Attack

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U.S. Jet Trainers Collide

BOLIVAR, Tenn., July 14 (UPI)—Two T-38 jets from the Columbus, Miss. Air Force Base collided and crashed in a heavily wooded area yesterday. Police said all four crewmen parachuted to safety.

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Only the best perfumes Here's one home we know we can count on 100% Temple Fielding

McGovern Predicts Democratic Party Unity

(Continued from Page 1)

with party leaders throughout the country and mumbled Sen. Kennedy, Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania and Gov. John J. Gilligan of Ohio, among others, to join his appeal for unity before the delegates and television cameras.

Sen. McGovern accepted the nomination for which he had labored more than three years as a previous gift bestowed by "the most open political process" in history and by the "most remarkable political organization" in history. He expressed confidence that he had merely begun to tap a political ferment comparable to that set loose by Presidents Jefferson, Jackson and Roosevelt.

Democratic Rivals

He paid respect also to his Democratic rivals this year, including Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, but he avoided any mention of his party's last two Presidents—John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Indeed, he listed their administrations, and those of Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mr. Nixon, for charting "a terrible war" behind closed doors. The war had spawned his candidacy and also his "public plan" to end it—starting with an end of the bombing in Indochina on Inauguration Day.

But he would move far beyond that concern, Sen. McGovern said. He insisted that he would never let America become "a second-rate nation," but he argued that resources must be liberated for other works, because national security also includes education, medical care and safe streets and the protection of the environment.

His administration, he predicted, would do whatever it takes to put the jobless back to work, to support those unable to work, to introduce national health insurance and to reform the tax system.

Commitments against the convention's choice and fears of a big defeat in November were still being voiced around this convention city. But Sen. McGovern appeared confident of overcoming them in time and he used the vice-presidential nomination in the effort.

He went once more through the routine of offering the position to Sen. Kennedy, but received the expected refusal. He then turned to long lists of names gathered by himself and his staff in recent days—lists that bore the preferences and priorities of leading party officials and officeholders and which stressed various considerations, such as the choice of a Catholic, or a Southerner, or a non-political figure or someone to appease the offended leaders of the big unions.

As Sen. Eagleton himself observed after his selection, he helps to balance the party's ticket this year in the classical, textbook manner.

Big-City Politician

He is outgoing in comparison to a somewhat austere Sen. McGovern. He is eight years younger than the nominee. He is a big-city politician teamed up with a man of the Plains. He is Catholic linking up with a Methodist.

Sen. Eagleton, like Sen. McGovern, is a liberal with roots and demonstrated appeal in a conservative state. And he is known as a pragmatic political operator whereas the presidential candidate has of late emphasized his principles and idealism.

Whereas Sen. McGovern has offended big labor by ignoring it too often, Sen. Eagleton has given the unions what they deemed to be a perfect Senate voting record until he strayed last year by opposing the superpower transportation and the Lockheed presidential hopes ride largely on a massive appeal to the Northern industrial states, but Sen. Eagleton should provide some feel for and reach into the less liberal precincts of the Border regions and the South.

And yet the vice-presidential nominee, a graduate of the Harvard Law School and former lieutenant governor and attorney general of Missouri, will have no difficulty accepting the McGovern program. And he passed the acid test of early and fervent opposition to the war that the South Dakota set for all the men under consideration today.

Lack of Enthusiasm

Sen. Eagleton's name was formally placed before the convention during a tedious round of brief speeches and the modest response from the floor reflected the lack of enthusiasm of many of the delegates who had hardly heard of the junior senator from Missouri.

Although few critics of the selection offered any alternative—once the recurrent talk of drafting Sen. Kennedy had been squelched—they said they could only hope that Sen. McGovern had truly chosen the best available running mate.

Not untypical was the report of Hall Timanus, the chairman of the Texas delegates for Wallace, who said the Alabama governor wanted Sen. McGovern's choice respected. "If he wants this Eagleton [sic] or whatever the hell his name is, then Gov. Wallace wants us to vote for him."

Less openly remarked on here

was Sen. Eagleton's crucial service to the McGovern campaign in its hour of need during the credentials fight Monday night. Although pledged to Sen. Muskie, Sen. Eagleton was among the first of the leading party officeholders to support Sen. McGovern's claim to all 271 California delegates and is thought to have helped lure other senators to that position.

Nixon's 1952 Bet

Indeed, the episode, followed by the selection, was reminiscent of how another freshman senator was nominated for the vice-presidency 20 years ago. His name was Richard M. Nixon and he bolted from the California delegation to side with the Eisenhower forces in a pivotal dispute over Texas delegates, and wound up the general's running mate.

Now, as then, observers suspected not so much a political deal as an astute and timely leap by a man who knew he could offer many other qualifications for vice-presidency. And the Democrats today, as the Republicans did in 1952, have a candidate who needed to go out of his way to demonstrate that a political service from an established politician would not go unheeded or unwelcome.

The desire for a Catholic running mate was plainly a major consideration for the McGovern forces. Catholic voters have been restive for many years in the once traditional home of the Democratic party and the threats of even greater defection among them have shown up markedly in polls taken by Sen. McGovern and others.

That was a further reason for

clously damage and destroy by means of explosive devices buildings and persons" at the Aug. 21-24 convention.

Four of the six veterans detained in Tallahassee were held in contempt of court by U.S. District Judge David L. Middlebrooks for refusing to testify.

Three of the six detained veterans were among the six indicted. They were identified as John W. Kniffin of Austin, Texas; Peter P. Mahoney, 23, of New Orleans, and Scott Camil, 25, of Gainesville, Fla.

Bond was fixed at \$25,000 for each of the men. The bond hearing was held in private, a rare practice.

Mr. Camil, Florida coordinator for the organization, also was indicted on charges of giving instructions in the use and application of incendiary devices and possession of a chemical bomb.

A fourth member of the organization, Alton C. Fuss of Miami, was being held in custody by U.S. marshals in Dade County. The two other indicted veterans, Don Perdue of Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and William Patterson of El Paso, Texas, still are being sought, according to Assistant U.S. Attorney Jack Carrouth.

Arrests Protested

An attorney for the veterans immediately protested the arrests and said that motions would be filed to quash the indictments and to lower the bonds.

The Democrats' resolution said the serving of the subpoenas, requiring the veterans to appear in Tallahassee, Fla., 150 miles from here on the day the Democratic convention opened, was a "blatantly political abuse of the grand jury."

Edwin Selby of Dumont, N.J., who presented the resolution, said that the information on which the subpoenas were based came from an FBI informer and was available to the Justice Department for several weeks before the subpoenas were issued.

Looking for Money

Meanwhile, many of the convention protesters passed up the last night of the convention yesterday to concentrate on handling enough money for food and the trip home.

Only about 600 demonstrators remained in the camp site at Flamingo Park. Throughout the day, protesters packed their tents and bedrolls and drifted away.

As delegates began arriving at Convention Hall for the last session, about 100 members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War marched from Flamingo Park to the hall.

The young activists, most of whom were dressed in fatigue uniforms, marched with upraised fists and chanted "Bring our brothers home." Motorcycle patrolmen preceded and followed the marchers as they assembled on the Convention Hall lawn.

Free Meals Distributed

At Flamingo Park, many of the protesters who remained were grouped around two tents where members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Hare Krishna religious sect distributed free meals.

A group of about 300 Tippias and Zippies later marched from the park to the front of Convention Hall, where they burned a huge photograph of former President Lyndon B. Johnson. Members of the groups also pledged to return to Miami Beach to protest at the Republican National Convention.

Board of Appeals

Fischer's request for a reversal of Schmidt's ruling was heard by a four-man appeal board composed of assistant referee Gudmundur Arnarsson, of Iceland, Icelandic federation member Baldr Moller, Nikolai Kroghus, a Spassky aide, and Cramer.

As he waited in an anteroom for a decision, Andrew Davis, Fischer's lawyer, said, "I hope Cramer knows how to vote."

Cramer was the only one in favor of overruling the referee.

An atmosphere of gloom surrounded the people connected with the match. To top the day off, somebody on an Icelandic radio talk show proposed that "Fischer and all the foreign reporters be given eight hours to be out of Iceland or be shot."

Interest in Sen. Kennedy, and most of the other alternatives appraised were also Catholics. Sen. Eagleton has the special attribute of an energetic campaign style and sensitivity that has helped him to lead his party's ticket even in the more fundamentalist Baptist regions of Missouri.

"This Is McGovern"

When asked for his reaction in a television interview, Sen. Eagleton said:

"Well, one of being very nervous and almost flabbergasted when Sen. McGovern called me and he said: 'This is George McGovern' and I recognized the voice, and he said, 'Tom, I'd like you to be my running mate,' and I paused and it sounded like four seconds, and I said, 'Well, George, before you change your mind, I accept.'"

He related the attributes that would balance the ticket, stressing that his connections with Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations "are compatible enough to be of some help to what is now the McGovern-Eagleton ticket."

"I sort of like the sound of that," he then pleaded to be released, saying "I've got to go meet the other fellow on the ticket."

As Sen. Eagleton's remarks suggested, the approval of his candidacy was a foregone conclusion. Like almost all his predecessors, Sen. McGovern ignored the random suggestions for assembly selection by the convention and imposed his private choice of the man who might, if elected, succeed him in the White House.

Nominated by Gibson

Sen. Eagleton's nomination was offered formally by Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark, one of the highest ranking black officeholders in the nation. Seven other names were offered to the convention, either on behalf of special factions or the aspirants themselves.

They were: Endicott Peabody, former governor of Massachusetts; Sen. Mike Gravel of Alaska; Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover, defeated congressional candidate for governor in Texas; H. R. Huddleston, 3d, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Times; Stanley Arnold, an advertising executive of New York City; Rep. Peter Rodino of Newark, N.J., and Clay Smothers, a blacked-out actor from Dallas.

Sen. Eagleton is not widely known to the country or even around his party, but he is at ease and often humorous before the television cameras and is not likely to be unknown for long. The early indications were that party leaders both understood and approved the choice, although some labor spokesmen said they would be reluctant to endorse him enough to overcome the lack of enthusiasm for the McGovern campaign.

I. W. Abel, the president of the United Steelworkers, said "there are no reasons" he could think of for supporting the Democratic candidate—conspicuously omitting any wish to defeat President Nixon.

"A Fine Campaigner"

But Leonard Woodcock, the president of the United Auto Workers and himself frequently mentioned for the vice-presidency by McGovern aides, called Sen. Eagleton "a fine choice, a great campaigner."

Rep. Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who withdrew at the last moment from the presidential race but struck the posture of a man ready to be called to join the ticket, received no call and refused any further statements.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, the last bearer of the hopes of Sen. McGovern's rivals, said Sen. Eagleton would bring balance to the ticket. But he held to his prediction of a "sharp fight ahead" for all Democrats running in association with Sen. McGovern.

After revealing his selection, Sen. McGovern was said to have turned at once to other campaign problems, including a drive to raise \$25 million of the \$35 million he thinks he will need through small contributions. His 19-month march to this convention's rostrum cost him \$6.5 million and the party he has seized is, at least financially, broke.

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Connally Says He'll Aid Nixon

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif., July 14 (AP)—John B. Connally, a Democrat, conferred today with President Nixon and then announced that he would "do everything in my power" to help Mr. Nixon in his re-election campaign.

Mr. Connally, former secretary of the Treasury, said that he could not support Sen. George McGovern, the Democratic presidential nominee. He described Sen. McGovern's views as "all too idealistic in character and also all too radical in character."

Mr. Connally also accused Sen. McGovern of sabotaging the President's efforts to end the Vietnam war.

GOP Campaign Chief Fishes for Democratic Defectors

By Spencer Rich

WASHINGTON, July 14 (WP)—Republican campaign chief Clark MacGregor has opened wide the doors of the party to Democratic defectors from the camp of Sen. George S. McGovern, urging Democrats to desert their party's nominee because of his "extremism" and to rally behind President Nixon.

In a speech yesterday providing clues to a Republican campaign strategy this fall, Mr. MacGregor accused the McGovern forces of

"extremism" and "blatant political expediency" and issued this invitation:

"To those Democrats who have been kicked out of their party because they were too temperate, too moderate, too tolerant, we Republicans say: Join us in supporting the re-election of a man who truly represents the vast majority of Americans. Join us now—as independents, thinking, responsible Democrats, as political neutrals or as new Republicans—join us now in re-electing Richard Nixon."

Mr. MacGregor, director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, said his party hopes for a major realignment of political forces. He foresaw moderate and conservative Democrats switching to Mr. Nixon because of their dislike of Sen. McGovern's "extreme" positions on many issues and the intolerant behavior of the "new political elite" who make up the "hard core" of the McGovern political structure.

Addressing a luncheon meeting of the National Republican

Club of Capitol Hill, Mr. MacGregor gave these other glimpses of Republican campaign themes and plans:

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Important memo to all Republicans in Europe.

Your European Committee will be at Miami next month. Your delegates—traveling at their own expense—will attend the 1972 National Convention, to represent you and fellow Republicans throughout Europe.

This means you'll have a voice in the proceedings there, if you want it. The European Republican Committee has been functioning effectively for the past five years. Headquartered in Paris, it has branches in 11 different countries on the

continent and in the U.K. It concerns itself with all matters affecting Americans resident in Europe—from the absentee ballot to tax legislation; from party activities to Medicare.

Its aim is to serve as your voice—over here—to be heard over there (including Miami).

If you'd like more information. If you'd like to volunteer your services in the forthcoming campaign. If you'd care to make a donation. Write to any of these committee chairmen:

European Republican Committee, C.M. Brown, 15 Ave. Victor-Hugo, Paris 16^e.

Austria: F. Fluss, Naulingasse 20/18, A-1030 Vienna.

Belgium: J.W. Daykin, Ave de l'Esplanade 32, 1640 Rhode-St-Genese.

France: H.W. Emmet, C/o European Republican Committee, 15 Ave. Victor-Hugo, Paris 16^e.

Germany: A. Bernacchia, Annstrasse 23, Frankfurt am Main.

Greece: A. Akiki, C/o Pan American Airways, 4 Othonos St., Athens.

Italy: R.K. Lindell, 00010, Rome, Salone.

Luxembourg: R.S. Perry, C/o Bank of Boston, 11 A Blvd. Prince Henri, Luxembourg.

Netherlands: C.C. Banks, Box 2440, Utrecht.

Portugal: R.L. Vaughan, Rua Particular 2, a Rua do Brasil, Apartado 2, Estoril.

Spain: R.H. Everitt, Calle Mayor 31, Madrid 13.

United Kingdom: V.W.W. Pearl, 16a St. James's St., London S.W.1.

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	C	F	
ALGERIA	19	66	Overcast
AMSTERDAM	18	64	Partly sun
ANKARA	23	81	Sunny
ATHENS	22	72	Partly sun
BELGRADE	17	63	Rain
BELMONT	22	72	Sunny
BIRMINGHAM	22	72	Sunny
BOSWORTH	20	68	Cloudy
BREITENBURG	22	72	Sunny
BUDAPEST	20	68	Cloudy
CAIRO	22	81	Sunny
CASABLANCA	27	81	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	17	63	Showers
COSTA DEL SOL	20	68	Cloudy
DUBLIN	20	68	Partly cloudy
EDINBURGH	18	64	Cloudy
FLORENCE	27	81	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	21	70	Partly sun
GENEVE	21	70	Partly sun
HELSINKI	21	70	Partly sun
ISTANBUL	24	75	Sunny
JAKARTA	24	75	Sunny
LISEBON	24	75	Sunny
LONDON	22	72	Sunny
MADRID	22	72	Sunny
MELBANE	23	73	Partly sun
MOSCOW	22	72	Partly sun
MONTREAL	22	72	Cloudy
MOSCOW	27	81	Cloudy
NEW YORK	18	61	Overcast
NICE	22	74	Sunny
OSLO	24	75	Cloudy
PARIS	24	75	Partly sun
PRAGUE	24	75	Sunny
ROME	26	78	Very close
SOFIA	26	78	Very close
ST. PETERSBURG	26	78	Cloudy
TEL AVIV	22	72	Partly sun
TOKYO	22	72	Sunny
VIENNA	22	72	Cloudy
WARSAW	24	73	Cloudy
WARSZAWA	24	73	Stormy
WASHINGTON	22	72	Cloudy
WILSON	20	68	Partly sun
LYONS	20	68	Partly sun

هكذا من الاصل

Back Nixon

rat Connally Assails
ern 'Sabotage' on War

By Carol Kilpatrick

NTB, Calif., July 14 (AP)—Secretary of State John B. Connally assailed Democratic presidential candidate George S. McGovern on Vietnam efforts, saying the effort "to bring the war to a negotiated end on a negotiated basis" is a "sabotage" of the war.

Democratic Gov. Connally, who helped carry McGovern to the White House in 1968, said McGovern's efforts to end the war "are a sabotage of the war."

Mr. Connally said he thought McGovern was a "much better Democrat" than Sen. McGovern.

Mr. Nixon has been a "terrible job," he said, "in the foreign policy of this nation" and has made "very, very significant contributions to world peace," the Texas said.

Asked about the nature of his role in the Nixon campaign, he said, "This is a personal act on my part." He said that while he will encourage Democrats to support the President, he has no plans at this time to head a Democrats-for-Nixon organization.

He described the jobs the President has in mind for him as "not earthshaking." Some foreign travel might be involved, he said.

Mr. Connally's support of the Humphrey-Muskie ticket in 1968 was believed to have been significant in denying the Texas electoral vote to Mr. Nixon. The state also went Democratic in the 1960 and 1964 elections.

ounds
Plane

IN, July 14 (AP)—A Turkish grayhound plane flying from Istanbul to Ankara today while on its way to Ankara to deliver a 45-minute flight to Ankara, about 100 miles, it was found to be in the air.

The plane was in the air for about 45 minutes, 117, at the time.

se Have Taxicab Problems
Inscrutable South Africans

ELIZABETH, South Africa, July 14 (AP)—When a

taxi here he creates a dilemma for a cab driver.

With apartheid policy in transportation, taxicabs designating their use. Whites are not supposed to ride in taxis. Nonwhites are supposed to stay out of white taxis.

They are usually designated "other Asiatic" unlike the taxi who buy a lot of iron ore from South Africa and "privileged position as 'honorary' whites."

Elizabeth says his firm has lost business by dispatching taxis for Chinese customers.

How embarrassing it is for a Chinese who has just come out of the theater where he has been in whites, to have to climb into a taxi for nonwhites, "it is quite ridiculous."

He consulted the Road Transportation Board, which is to clarify the position.

He can't take a chance of transporting Chinese in taxis until the situation has been clarified, Mr. Terrell said. "If we do and we are caught, it could mean that our license."

Fonda Reportedly Aims
Bombing Plea for Hanoi

July 14 (AP)—American

John Fonda was on the radio today to denounce the U.S. dikes in North Vietnam.

Miss Fonda's broadcast "all the U.S. services" in radio against the U.S. said that had visited an area east of Hanoi where

ins Report
ag Vitamin
are Ulcers

7, July 14 (AP)—Scientists say they have

discovered a vitamin U

which cures small ulcers

gastric disorders in 30

as agency Tass said

a Moscow scientist, head

of Vasily Bukin, syn-

thesized a new vitamin

called metionin. Such

agents as curds contain

city of the acid.

It is always distressing

to find American citizens

in the hands of the

government of North

Vietnam. But because

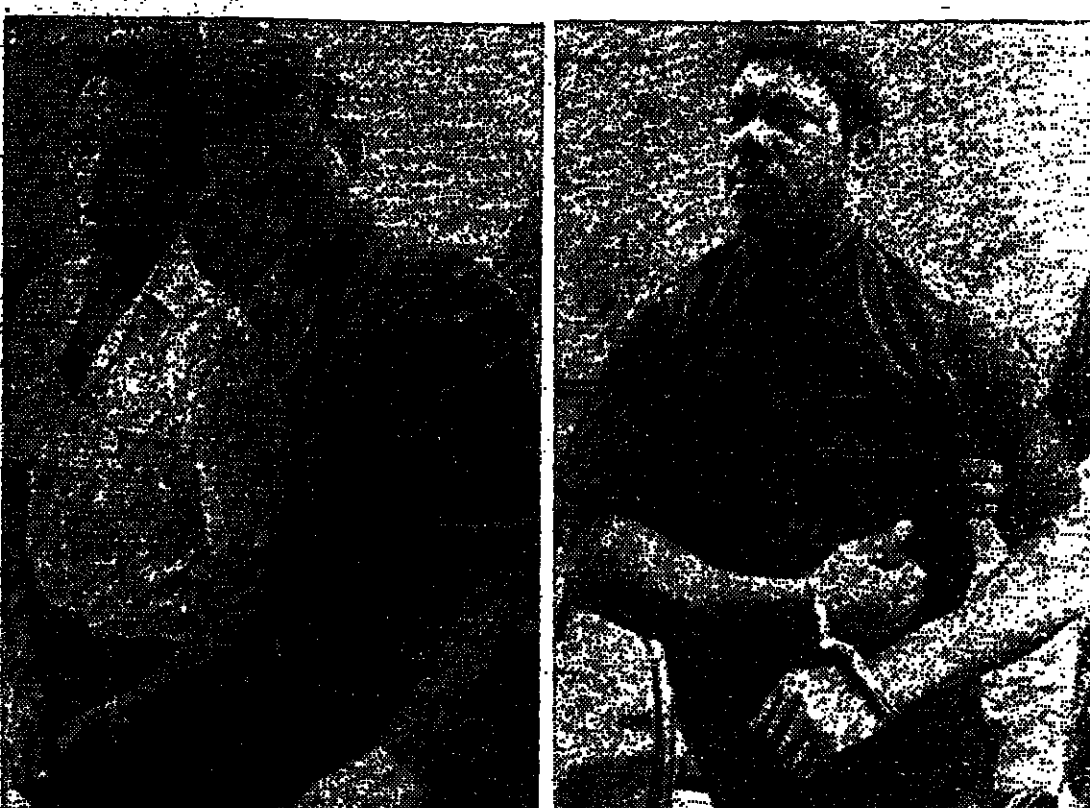
of recent court decisions

against such action, Mr.

Bray said, large numbers

of Americans have

visited Hanoi without



IN CUSTODY—Skyjacker Luseged Tesfa (in photo at left with FBI agent) and Michael Stanley Green being taken into Federal Court in Houston Thursday for arraignment.

Each Held in \$1 Million Bail

Texas to Return 2 Hijackers to Pa.

HOUSTON, July 14 (Reuters).

Two black gunmen who collected a \$600,000 ransom when they hijacked a National Airlines jetliner over New York and forced it to fly to Texas were held in jail here today in lieu of a million dollars bail each.

The hijackers, Michael Stanley Green, 34, of Washington, D.C., and Luseged Tesfa, a 32-year-old Ethiopian studying at Howard University in Washington, were awaiting extradition to Philadelphia, where they had picked up a small airplane in Brazoria, Texas, 60 miles south of here.

The hijackers released one of four stewardesses to carry to FBI agents a demand for a small plane to take them to an undisclosed destination.

They also released the flight engineer, who was shot in a scuffle, while the cockpit escaped through a door after being struck with a pistol. He suffered a pelvic fracture in the jump to the ground but was reported in good condition, as was the engineer.

The hijackers, apparently realizing that escape was impossible, released the three remaining stewardesses and followed them out of the door to surrender.

They were brought to Houston for a preliminary hearing.

Hijackers in Algeria

ALGERIA, July 14 (Reuters).—Two Americans who hijacked a Western Airlines Boeing-720 to Algeria last month have been

handed over to the Algerian-based international section of the Black Panther party by the Algerian authorities, Panther sources said today.

The hijackers, William Holder, 22, a black helicopter pilot, and Katherine Kerkow, 20, a white student, are now with the Panthers at their headquarters in the Algerian capital, the sources said.

The airline that Holder and Miss Kerkow hijacked to Algeria on June 28 flew back to the United States the same night. Algeria later returned the \$500,000 ransom they had extorted from Western Airlines.

Ivory Coast Hijacking

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, July 14 (UPI).—A 32-year-old Italian

garage mechanic failed yesterday in an attempt to commandeer a jet passenger plane to fly him to Rome and was wounded in a

shootout with airport security forces, government officials said today.

They said Luciano Porcari, 32, was wounded in the chest.

Chinese Envoy

Attends Japanese

Party in Geneva

TOKYO, July 14 (AP).—Japan's

Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira

"welcomed" today the presence of a Chinese ambassador at a Japanese diplomatic reception in

Geneva last night.

Mr. Ohira, in a news conference, said Mr. Ping, China's

deputy chief delegate to the United Nations Economic and

Social Council, attended a party

hosted by Japanese delegates

Motoo Ogiso and Hideo Kitahara.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman

said the ministry is "not at all

surprised" that Mr. Ohira showed

up at yesterday's reception. He

said the Chinese have become

more friendly toward Japanese

diplomats since President Nixon's

visit to China last February.

originally of Orvieto, Italy, forced

his way past airport guards onto the runway at Abidjan airport late Wednesday night by threatening his wife and 13-month-old daughter with a rifle.

Porcari began bargaining for a jet and wanted a guard when an airport official approached.

Officials ordered airport lights turned off and canceled incoming flights, they said.

Security forces opened fire yesterday morning after Porcari shot his wife through the jaw. They wounded and disabled him.

West German Trials

NUREMBERG, West Germany, July 14 (AP).—Two Czechoslovak

coal miners went on trial before a Nuremberg court today for

hijacking a Czechoslovak airliner and wounding the copilot.

Karel Dolezel, 28, and Antonin Lerch, 24, who have admitted the April 18 hijacking, face jail terms of five to 15 years under West Germany's new statutes against

air piracy officials said.

Eleven young Czechoslovak men and women are to be tried before a West German court for the June 8 hijack of another Czechoslovak airliner, in which the pilot was shot and killed.

In West Germany's first air piracy trial, eight young Czechoslovak men and women were sentenced to jail terms ranging from eight months to two and a half years for hijacking a Czechoslovak airliner to West Germany in June, 1970.

Five Are Excused

Prospective Ellsberg Jurors

Challenged on Views of War

By Fred P. Graham

LOS ANGELES, July 14 (NYT).

Attitudes toward the Vietnam war appeared to be a factor yesterday in challenges by the prosecution and defense to prospective jurors in the Pentagon papers case.

The government exercised two challenges, eliminating two women who had stated opposition to the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

One was Mrs. Marie Goldstein, a white-haired supporter of Sen. George McGovern, who said that she opposed the war and would tend to favor Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo Jr., who are accused of making public the story of U.S. involvement in the war.

She was excused "for cause" by U.S. District Judge William M. Byrne Jr.

The other was Mrs. Dorothy Wells, who was removed when the government exercised the first of its six "peremptory" challenges—challenges without stated reason. She had said that the United States "shouldn't be involved" in Vietnam.

The defense removed three prospective jurors with challenges. One, a young Oklahoma native named Homer R. Walls, had said that he was "for the war" and called for "victory."

Another, an African American named Richard M. Greenwald, had said that the United States should not be in Vietnam but should get out "as best we can, not as losers." He also had a secret security clearance, which the defense asserted might color his attitude toward the defendants' alleged release of the classified papers.

The defense used two of its 14 peremptory challenges to remove them.

The defense also successfully challenged "for cause" John I. Hefala, a retired oil worker who said that he thought the defendants were guilty. He had professed to have no views on the war.

Earlier in the day, the chief government prosecutor, David R. Nissen, declared that the war was "simply not involved" with the government's case and that it would not be mentioned in the prosecution's arguments. Mr. Nissen said that his superiors in the Justice Department had not even inquired as to his views toward the war or those of his two associates, Warren R. Reese or Richard J. Barry.

The defense failed in an attempt to challenge "for cause" nine prospective jurors because they or members of their families had held security clearances. Judge Byrne rejected the defense arguments that they might fear the loss of clearances for employment if they sided against the government.

The first four days of questioning have indicated that the

Pioneer-10 Begins Risky Path
Through Wide Asteroid Belt

By John Noble Wilford

NEW YORK, July 14 (NYT).

The Pioneer-10 spacecraft, bound for Jupiter, begins this weekend the most hazardous part of its flight, a seven-month passage through the dusty, rocky debris of the asteroid belt.

Never before has a spacecraft penetrated this vast region between Mars and Jupiter, which is largely uncharted and perhaps best known as the fictional realm of Saint-Exupery's Little Prince.

The 175-million-mile-wide belt contains more than 50,000 objects wider than a mile, all hurtling at speeds of 12 miles a second. And there are assumed to be billions of other rocky fragments, many no bigger than a grain of sand or a fleck of dust.

Project officials at the space agency's Ames Research Center, in Mountain View, Calif., estimate that Pioneer-10's closest approach to any of the known asteroids would be 5.5 million miles. That is the distance of which it will pass the asteroid Palomar-Leydon (six-tenths of a mile wide) on Aug. 2 and asteroid Nike (15 miles wide) on Dec. 2.

But it would take a particle only one-fiftieth of an inch in diameter to damage Pioneer-10 seriously, the officials said. The likelihood of such an impact, they said, is about one chance in 10.

If the unmanned, 550-pound spacecraft emerges unscathed, it should reach the vicinity of Jupiter in December, 1973, for the first close-up observations of the solar system's largest planet. The spacecraft was launched on its 620-million-mile journey from Cape Kennedy on March 2 and is now 115 million miles from earth.

Scientists hope that Pioneer-10's observation instruments will help them solve the mystery of how the asteroid belt came into existence.

The belt is believed to contain enough material to make a small planet with a volume about one-thousandth that of the earth. Scientists theorize that the asteroids either coalesced individually from the primordial gas cloud that formed the sun and the planets or that they are fragments from the breakup of an earlier small planet.

"From the information that we have to date," said Dr. Robert K. Soberman, a General Electric Co. scientist, who is Pioneer-10's principal investigator of asteroids, "I think we will be able to choose between those two theories."

Most astronomers favor the theory that the asteroid material represents an intermediate state in the formation of planets. Perhaps, they say, the nearness of a planet as large as Jupiter, with its gravitational forces, interfered with the process of planetary formation.

Pioneer-10 carries four telescopes that will be used to measure the brightness, speed and direction of travel of particles in the belt.

An array of gas cells outside the vehicle should register the frequency of impacts by tiny, noninteracting particles. When an impact makes a hole in one of the cells, the loss of gas is sensed electronically and the data radioed to earth. This should give scientists their first estimates of particle density in the belt.

Dr. Ray L. Newburn, a staff scientist at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., said in a recent interview that the asteroids probably are "the best sources of early material of the solar system, even better than the moon."

Some scientists, like Dr. Hannes Alfvén of the University of California at San Diego, a Nobel Prize winner, have suggested that

Reagan Sees Leone

ROME, July 14 (Reuters).

California Gov. Ronald Reagan,

acting as personal representative

of President Nixon, had talks to-

day with Italian President Gio-

vanni Leone.

landing men on one of the larger asteroids might be a more rewarding mission than a Mars landing. The largest asteroid, Ceres, is 480 miles in diameter. None of the asteroids has sufficient gravitational force to retain any atmosphere or support life.

Bonn Ready to Demand End
Of Eurorocket Organization

BONN, July 14 (AP-DJ).

West Germany believes that the "Eurorocket" program of the European space-vehicle launcher development organization, ELDO, has been a waste of \$600 million.

The office of Science Minister Klaus von Dohnanyi said today that West Germany will demand that the organization be dissolved. An international space conference is scheduled for Brussels in September.

A spokesman for Mr. von Dohnanyi said Germany will suggest that U.S. rockets be purchased for launching European space vehicles. One Eurorocket costs about \$25 million while a more reliable U.S. Thor-Delta launcher costs \$8 million.

The West German initiative is certain to meet strong opposition from France, which has made big investments in hardware. France also believes dependence on the United States might inhibit European independence in developing communications satellites.

Members of the organization are West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Australia. Britain was a founding member in 1962 but at the end of last year it asked to relinquish active membership while retaining observer status.

With a 36 percent share in the organization, West Germany has the biggest say in its operations. Bonn's decision against ELDO is expected to be announced after a cabinet meeting soon.

Changes at ELDO are not expected to influence the European Space Research Organization, which is developing scientific satellites, or the use of French or British rockets for some future projects. But observers said repercussions on those projects could not be ruled out completely.

Mr. von Dohnanyi, a Social Democrat, accused Gerhard Stoltenberg, his Christian Democratic predecessor, of allowing Germany to "stagger into a major technological project without preparation."

Germany's contribution has been about \$200 million. It would cost an additional \$930 million or more to produce a satisfactory ELDO launcher, he said. The ELDO launcher currently under development is Europa II, a three-stage vehicle designed to put a payload of about 4,000 pounds into orbit. Its first operational mission has been scheduled for next year.

U.S., Russia Plan
Space Linkups on
Continuing Basis

SPACE CENTER, Houston, July 14 (AP).—If a compatible docking system now under development by U.S. and Soviet space engineers is successful, future Russian and American spacecraft will be equipped with the device for joint missions, officials of both countries said here yesterday.

George M. Low, deputy administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Boris N. Petrov, chairman of the Soviet Interkosmos Council, said at a news conference that "significant progress" has already been made toward a joint mission in 1975 to test the compatible docking system.

I don't think our joint effort will cease after the first flight," said Mr. Petrov, speaking through an interpreter. "I hope the results of the work to develop this system will be useful to both countries. I'm sure the first flight will not be the last."

Mr. Petrov is leader of a 22-member delegation visiting the Manned Spacecraft Center to work out the final details for the compatible system.

Mr. Low said the Soviet and American space communities have been trading science and space information since an agreement was reached between the two countries in January, 1971. The agreement was carried a step further by the summit-meeting treaty signed in Moscow May 24 by President Nixon.

Hund Luggage Check
On American Airlines

OKLAHOMA CITY, July 14 (AP).—In the future, all carry-on luggage of passengers boarding American Airlines flights will be checked, the airline announced today.

American Airlines ordered the searches after the hijacking of a plane near Oklahoma City Wednesday night. The hijacker surrendered after eight hours.

Birth Control
In Indonesia

JAKARTA, July 14 (Reuters).

President Suharto has forbidden members of Indonesia's armed services to have more than five children. The decree is part of the government's birth-control program. Indonesia has a population of about 117 million.

4 Girls Drown
In Rescue Effort

DUBLIN, July 14 (AP).

Four young girls drowned yesterday when pounding waves smashed a human chain they helped to form to rescue a struggling schoolmaster from the Atlantic.

Seven of the drowned girls' classmates were pulled from the water off County Donegal and taken to a hospital, where their condition was said to be serious.

The children were all in the water when a teacher got into difficulties. A colleague rushed to his aid, but was soon also struggling against powerful currents. The children linked hands to form a chain to reach the two men, but the seas dashed them apart and swept the four girls out into the ocean. The two teachers were reported unharmed.

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Defining George McGovern

If the past year should have taught us anything about the political condition of this country, it is that the old definitions will not do—and especially will they not do to analyze or describe the successful candidacy of Sen. George McGovern, who won his party's nomination for President Wednesday night. Orthodoxy would require, for example, that Sen. McGovern now be urged to "move to the center." Yet it seems to us that one thing Sen. McGovern's pre-convention campaign has amply demonstrated is that the American voter has rendered obsolete the familiar conception of where the center lies, that too many issues and attitudes now defy the old left-right schematic distinctions to make possible some ready location of a "center" midpoint between them. Similarly, we would suggest that nothing is more likely to lead to an intellectual dead end than the current effort to measure Sen. McGovern in terms of the degree of his "radicalism." Sen. McGovern, after all, has scarcely proposed anything more "radical" than some of Richard Nixon's larger policy departures in office—from the overturning of 30 years of China policy to the espousal of a guaranteed annual income. So we would argue that the relevant question about Sen. McGovern's views is not whether they are "centrist" or "radical," but whether they are foolish or wise.

That Sen. McGovern's emphasis in the pre-convention campaign reflected a preoccupation with legitimate new issues that are properly coming to the center of national concern seems indisputable to us: the inequities of the way in which we as a nation tax and redistribute our income; the skewed priorities and outworn assumptions that have led us into so costly and disastrous a war as Vietnam and which are reflected in our outsized and high uncontrollable military expenditures; the fundamental crisis in confidence the American people are experiencing in relation to the institutions that so profoundly affect their lives. Where Sen. McGovern has set forth specific programs to counter these ills or permitted himself to talk freely about less specific plans, we believe that he has endorsed or at least identified himself with a number of questionable propositions. There are elements of both his defense spending plan and his earlier tax and income redistribution scheme which sorely require revision. These, together with certain aspects of his prospective program for ending U.S. involvement in the war while assuring the return of our prisoners, are among the major subjects on which we expect there will be not just debate but also response from the candidate as the campaign wears on.

But our own preliminary judgment is that it would be another miscalculation of the man and the meaning of his nomination to attribute those more controversial or even offensive parts of his program to his presumed leadership of some well-organized and extreme (or "radical" or "left-wing") faction within the Democratic party. For one thing that does seem certain at this point is that Sen. McGovern in fact reflects and represents a very powerful current of thought and bent of mind within the party on his approach to the major issues and his definition of them.

The fact helps account, we think, for the extraordinary atmosphere of the Miami Beach convention, a potentially explosive gathering that turned out to be marked instead by a strange quality of easy patience and even bonhomie. This, of course, was due in large part to the actions of others—the good sense of Lawrence F. O'Brien, who conducted the convention brilliantly, the good fellowship of Hubert Humphrey, who got out when his candidacy could only be continued at the expense of the party and its nominee. But there was something larger at work, we believe, in Miami Beach among the Democrats, something closely connected with the McGovern candidacy and something that strongly affected the tone of the proceedings. It was an elusive but real sense among the participants of reunion and even liberation—liberation from the nightmare of Chicago and from the closed-door, stale-air evasion and dissembling that led to it. It was a sense that the party might just be on the verge of re-establishing its identity and continuity and making peace with itself.

That observation will seem to many wise heads preposterous at the very least, coming as it does on the heels of unprecedented labor leadership defection, a drastic reduction in the prospect that the Southern element of the old coalition can be retrieved and the dramatic refusal of the convention to seat the delegation of the last of the party's great city machine politicians, Richard Daley. Nor would we argue that the absence of physical violence or disturbance should be confused with an absence of profound disagreement in the party of many important party members with the ideology and the constituency that prevailed. What we would observe is that Sen. McGovern, both in his manner of winning this nomination and his thematic emphasis, may have helped make the party able once again to live with itself. For the theme we have in mind, that which animates the platform as it did chairman O'Brien's opening remarks and as it has Sen. McGovern's campaign, is one which accepts responsibility for what has gone wrong, which makes that the basis not just of new policy but also of a party continuity of a very peculiar but genuine sort.

Let us come out in the open and see who is strongest and let everyone play by the rules, the convention seemed to say. Let us concede that much of what has gone so wrong has been our own work. That is the only way in which we can even affirm the rather basic fact of who we are—not to mention the only way in which we can pick up the pieces and figure out where to go.

The Democratic convention and its nominees—Sen. McGovern and Sen. Thomas Eagleton—may well turn out to represent a ticket that is wrong on substantial points of program or that is politically and/or ideologically unequal to the challenge of mobilizing a majority Democratic vote by falling either to reconcile disaffected elements of the party or to compensate for their loss. But the extraordinary process of procedural reform and identification of the issues that appear to be moving the electorate somehow contrived in the convention to create a situation in which one felt the Democrats were beginning their 1972 campaign in the only way they could—if they were to have a fighting chance. For that they owe much to their candidate.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

McGovern Begins

In his choice of Sen. Thomas Eagleton of Missouri as his vice-presidential running mate as well as in his acceptance speech, Sen. George McGovern has demonstrated that he can reach out for fresh political strength without sacrifice of principle.

Sen. Eagleton was refreshingly candid in setting forth the reasons why he was tapped. He is relatively young, a Roman Catholic from an urban state, and has good relations with organized labor. These qualities complement those of Sen. McGovern, a Protestant from a rural state who is distrusted by the hierarchy of the AFL-CIO for his political unorthodoxy and his rejection of George Meany's rigidly ritualistic anti-Communism in foreign policy. Since Sen. Eagleton was an original Muskogean man, his nomination is a friendly gesture to those who backed the Maine senator's unsuccessful candidacy. He is also a party regular well-regarded by the rather conservative Missouri organization. That makes him a reassuring figure to many other party regulars who feel less doubt of the "New Politics" which unexpectedly swept Sen. McGovern to victory.

In addition to these politically conventional but not intellectually compelling considerations, there are positive reasons for welcoming Sen. Eagleton's nomination. In

choosing a man with clear liberal convictions compatible with his own, Sen. McGovern has avoided presenting the electorate with the kind of schizoid ticket which political managers so often concoct in the name of party harmony.

Having served as district attorney, state attorney general and lieutenant governor, Sen. Eagleton has had useful experience in local and state government. Although relatively new to the national scene, he has already shown himself an intelligent, conscientious and compassionate legislator. His performance in the thankless work of the District of Columbia Committee has been notably praiseworthy.

There is no perfect prescription for a candidate for the awkward and anomalous office of vice-president and no ideal way to select him. Yet surely a method could be devised to bring the rank-and-file delegates more fully into the selection process. The submission by the presidential nominee of three or four acceptable names, instead of just one, would be a possible improvement. Sen. McGovern is clearly off to a good beginning in what promises to be a difficult and hard-fought campaign in which the nation will be asked to make fundamental judgments about its future.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

July 15, 1897

ATHENS—According to the most trustworthy information to hand here, the Powers are resolutely determined to bring matters against Turkey to satisfactory and speedy issue and to employ efficacious, if drastic methods to cause the evacuation of Thessaly. It is believed a simple blockade of the Bosphorus by Russia, of the Dardanelles by England and the seizure of the railway at Salonica by Austria would speedily induce the Sultan to accept the terms of all the Powers.

Fifty Years Ago

July 15, 1922

WASHINGTON—Overshadowing the tariff debate in the Senate and even the approaching primaries, in which many present members of Congress are up for re-nomination, is the reported break between President Harding and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the administration leader in the Upper House. Senator Lodge went to the White House today to consult the President on pending legislation and was rebuffed for the third time this week. He was told that the President was too busy.



Ulster: The Darkening Clouds

By Bernard Weinraub

BELFAST—Perhaps not since the troubles of the 1930s has Northern Ireland faced a graver crisis. The rupture of the ceasefire by the Irish Republican Army's militant Provisional wing, the erection of barricades again in Roman Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods, the talk of civil war, the armed militias on both sides, the chain of unsolved sectarian murders, the intimidation of Catholic families in mixed neighborhoods—all have shrouded Northern Ireland in darkness once again.

The nightmare seems unending. Why? Why do both sides seem so reconciled to almost yearning for a fight? Why does nothing seem to work?

In a province obsessed with 17th-century religious disputes, in neighborhoods stained with tribal distrust, in homes where political, religious and cultural values have become totally distorted, the quest for the elusive peace between Catholics and Protestants does, indeed, seem remote.

The guilt rests with both communities. The gulf between them, at this point, seems more historic, more hysterical and simply more irreconcilable than that between Arabs and Jews, Indians and Pakistanis.

The Imbalance

For one, both sides see themselves as besieged and threatened. Of the 1.5 million people here two-thirds are Protestant, but in the wider context of Ireland they are outnumbered three to one.

"The inevitable result has been the disastrous advent of a ruling establishment with the reins of power immovably in its hand but acting under the stresses of a besieged minority," said a recent report by the Minority Rights Trust, a British research foundation that conducted a study in Northern Ireland. "Virtually everyone in Ulster feels himself under threat and reacts accordingly. There is no inclination for reason or compromise, simply because the most urgent need is to combat a threat which may seem small or nonexistent to outsiders but looms obliteratingly over those locked into the situation."

What that has done is to unite Protestants, rich and poor, and to turn the preservation of the border into the one overriding issue among them. This has dwarfed economic, political and social advances, made them suspicious of most British politicians seeking a settlement and made them hostile to the Catholic minority.

Beyond this, Northern Ireland remains one of the few lands where politics is stratified along religious rather than class lines. Protestant workers, however impoverished, zealously support the Unionist party, the local Conservatives, which dominated the government for 51 years and which views the border as the crucial issue.

Thus no Labor movement in Northern Ireland has succeeded in gaining Protestant working-class support. One of Ulster's tragedies is the failure of workers, Protestant and Catholic, to unite for better conditions. (In Belfast about 40 percent of the homes are without bathrooms or inside toilets.)

But the roots of Northern Ireland's problems are imbedded, too, in the overall and complex question of national identity. Both sides see the problems in totally different terms. Catholics clearly identify with the Irish republic. Protestants view themselves as perpetually

threatened by the Catholic majority of the South.

"Because Catholics see discord in nationality terms whereas Protestants see it in religious terms, politics in Northern Ireland involves ideologically unrelated conflict," said Richard Rose, an American social analyst who conducted a six-year survey of Northern Ireland called "Governance Without Consensus."

Referring to the six counties of Ulster and the 26 of the Irish Republic, he added:

Bleak Outlook

"Disaffected Catholics claim that the appropriate solution is nationalism—to abolish the border to create a 32-county Republic of Ireland. Protestants tend to see their regime as the bulwark of religious faith against Catholics within the six counties, against the mere Catholic-Irish outside their provincial pale, and against the forces of fire and darkness everywhere growing stronger in a threatening and increasingly ecumenical world."

By their own standards, each side is right and uncompromisingly so. Because the whole range of social, political and religious values is twisted, reconciliation between the communities seems remote. Compromise, which is utterly necessary, is distant.

Perhaps the clearest indication of this is in education. The Catholic hierarchy has insisted on separate schools for Catholic children. As a result, the children of the two communities lead totally separate lives and inherit the myths passed down for generations. And by helping the schools financially, Protestant governments have undoubtedly encouraged the status quo.

Another issue that strengthens the fears of Protestants is the constitutionally guaranteed "special position" of the Roman Catholic Church in the Irish Republic. This bars divorce and the sale of contraceptives and allows strict censorship of films and books. Dublin politicians privately acknowledge that the removal of this special position would defuse one of the most emotional issues among Protestants in Ulster.

Yet to many moderates the conflict now seems almost beyond resolution. The Protestants fear they will be left to fend for themselves against the Catholics within and those waiting over the border. The Catholics have a burning sense of grievance about jobs and houses but look to unity as the solution. They accept and often condone IRA violence and retain—perhaps welcome—the feeling of persecution.

Britain, which has lost more than 50 soldiers here, is impatient, Richard Crossman, a former Labor cabinet minister who was a

member of the Anglo-American commission in Palestine in 1946, said the other day that Britain should think seriously of getting out of Northern Ireland, letting Protestants and Catholics meet head-on, as the Arabs and Jews did in 1948.

"No doubt the presence of our troops prevents the outbreak of civil war, but it also breeds extremism and terrorism on both sides," Crossman said. "The one thing which might knock sense into their heads would be to hold that there is a time limit to our patience and that unless a solution is reached within that time limit we shall leave them to settle their own problems."

The breakdown of the truce and ensuing violence has made this threat a new and possibly ultimate step in the tormented province.

MIAMI BEACH—Even George McGovern's people say frankly that he can be given no more than an outside chance of defeating the incumbent President. But it is important to distinguish that kind of realism from the groundswell of opinion that some old political hands and commentators have been delivering here in Miami.

"Self-destruct" is the favorite head-shaking phrase of these critics. The McGovern supporters, they say, are zealous in destroying the party by their refusal to compromise or deal with the established Democrats. That picture is a little hard for anyone who has actually been at the convention to recognize. The McGovern delegates were almost painfully moderate and restrained, the debate reasonable and the conflicts on the floor good-natured by convention standards. The soreheads who refused to compromise were not McGovern but Richard Daley, George Meany and company.

Symbols of Policy
And so one might conclude that a good deal of wounded ego is involved in the criticism—the bitterness of men whose advice was successfully ignored and who fear the loss of familiar access to power. But there is more to it than that. There is a genuine difference of view about the policy and the organizational strategy of the Democratic party. Considered in those terms, how valid are the conservative complaints?

Henry Jackson, the last surviving Old Guard candidate against

A Tale of 2 Parties—Both the Democratic

By David S. Broder

MIAMI BEACH—It's now clear there are two Democratic parties, coming out of this convention and preparing for the fall campaign.

One is the McGovern party that captured the presidential nomination and at least temporary possession of the symbols of Democratic legitimacy.

The other party, which lacks a name, is made up of elected officials—particularly governors, congressmen, union leaders and some of the big contributors, who failed to back Sen. George McGovern's nomination.

The McGovern party accepted its victory at Convention Hall Thursday night, and on Friday took formal command of the Democratic National Committee and is set to begin its campaign for the white House.

Members of the Anti-McGovern coalition accepted defeat early Tuesday morning on the California credentials roll-call, and just 12 hours later held its first meeting to plan its return to power. Their blueprint: Pool resources this fall for an all-out effort to preserve the Democratic majority in Congress, and then use Congress and the governorships to regain control of the national party structure from McGovern, after what they regard as his inevitable November defeat.

There's nothing new in Democratic politics about a split between the party's "presidential" and "congressional" wings. For years, the House and Senate Democrats have maintained their own campaign committees, raised their own funds and stoutly resisted efforts from "downtown" to centralize the party authority in the hands of a President or a presidential candidate.

A Difference

The difference now is that the strongest single element in organized labor—the AFL-CIO and its Committee on Political Education—has cut its ties with the "presidential" party and is taking the lead in organizing a broad-based coalition of non-presidential Democrats.

That's never happened before, because for two generations Big Labor has been able to exercise a veto power over the choice of the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential nominees.

This year, McGovern overrode Big Labor's veto—and George Meany and his allies are furious. They're not the only ones, of course. The backers of Hubert Humphrey, most of the big city, Border State and Southern Democrats in Congress; at least two-thirds of the Democratic gubernatorial candidates; a sizable bloc of the party's biggest fund-raisers also woke up with a feeling they'd been robbed of control of their party by the McGovern forces.

At a Tuesday luncheon, arranged by Meany's lieutenants, they agreed to make common cause in

the interests of the congressional campaign and eventual receipt of the party.

Labor had been building its ties with the governors and Congress for years. Over the past decade more and more Democratic candidates for the House and Senate have found their way to the AFL-CIO for the "seed money" of their campaigns.

Increasingly, state affiliates of the labor federation have acquired the same relationship with the Democratic gubernatorial candidates in their states.

Labor has shown it can call its debts from those it has helped. But labor was not able to exercise similar influence in the convention—in part, because McGovern's commission reform had reduced the number of off-holders-delegates and increased the number of "citizen-type" with no obligations to the union politicians.

On His Own

Having failed to decide identity of the nominee, Meany men are now prepared to let him sink or swim on his own. Next Wednesday's meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council is expected to declare a policy of neutrality toward the presidential race, while emphasizing the federation's commitment to re-electing a Democratic Congress.

Meany and most of his associates—who have invested heavily in building a political organization more powerful in many areas than the Democratic party—fully justified in taking the support where they think it will be appreciated.

If Meany is willing to take the risk, there were indications it some of his top state lieutenants were not. An AFL-CIO leader from Pennsylvania, ardent in his support of Humphrey's nomination, told me colleagues on the convention floor Thursday night it was time for Big Labor to make peace with McGovern. "It's no going to help local Democrats in November if we're cutting the top of the ticket," he said.

In another interview, United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock said he was hopeful several of the big AFL-CIO affiliates would back McGovern, even if the federation did not.

These comments pressed a battle inside labor. But as of Friday, Meany's disposition is to put the manpower, political machine and resources he commands at the disposal of Democratic congressional and gubernatorial candidates, instead of George McGovern.

And it's also clear that if McGovern loses in November, there will be a battle-royal for control of the Democratic party that will make the convention fight seem tame.

Whose Party?

By Anthony Lewis

McGovern, stands for two main things in the public mind: the supersonic transport and a tough position on Vietnam and the cold war. George Meany and Dick Daley would not disagree, so those seem fair enough symbols of the policy their kind of Democratic party would follow.

It would be equally anachronistic to rely on George Meany in organizational terms. Can he and other union leaders deliver the labor vote these days? Of course not. Politically they lead shadow armies. So do most city bosses. Daley is a notable exception, but even he has had trouble making his voters behave this year.

The only real organizational potential for the Democrats now is what McGovern has so brilliantly enlisted: the children of the professional middle class and involved in the criticism—the bitterness of men whose advice was successfully ignored and who fear the loss of familiar access to power. But there is more to it than that. There is a genuine difference of view about the policy and the organizational strategy of the Democratic party. Considered in those terms, how valid are the conservative complaints?

Henry Jackson, the last surviving Old Guard candidate against

of personal contact. He approaches people as individual human beings. That's the significance of the people going door to door.

Time of Transition

In short, the Democratic party is at a time of transition in both ideas and techniques. George McGovern thinks it will be a time of party realignment, like the party of Jackson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. That remains to be seen, but at the least the party to begin changing. Anyone believes that the Democrats go back to the New Deal and cold war is suffering from failure of historical imagination and of perception of the times.

Of course, there are deeply conservative strains in this country and Richard Nixon is adept at reaching them. The defection of the Daleys and the Meany's withdrawal, as McGovern knows better than anyone, A Democratic victory this year may well be as much a repudiation of the Democratic party as any historic choice except to be the instrument of change, and there is no place on earth changing as fast as America today. If McGovern falls in 1972, he will nevertheless have begun a process of adjustment to that change.

But it would be a great mistake to write George McGovern off even at the prevailing odds. Those who stayed up to see him accept the nomination know the ministerial passion and confidence, the belief in himself and his country, that came through in that flat voice of the Great Plains.

Letters

Out of Step

Part of the riddle of America's Vietnam tragedy reveals itself in the Rev. Charles F. Henderson's article, "Mr. Nixon's Theology" (Herald Tribune, July 5). Mr. Henderson tells us that Mr. Nixon is not an evil man who has abandoned the public trust, but rather a moral man out of step with the realities of his times.

It is the Rev. Henderson of America and others like him, in powerful places, who share the evil of the Nixon's. Evil is ignorance at its core. Morality changes with each nation and varies with historical periods. Tyrants of any time are often

"moral" men with cherished ideals and have murdered and destroyed to reform societies and others according to their own ideals.

ALLAN GELBIN,
London.

Lewis Critic

Anthony Lewis surpasses himself in his usual propaganda for Rancid with an attack on the American administration (Herald Tribune, July 8-9) when he writes, "We are there to demonstrate our own power, and the destruction of Vietnam is only an incidental fact."

Nica.

F. MYNBERG.

chs Face ersion Monday

Supporters
et 10 Years

July 14 (Reuters). — Leading supporters of regime of former leader Alexander to go on trial here charges of subversion, the sources said.

Some of whom have since November, former prominent and journalists, appear in Prague City 300 under Article 98 Code, which provides: ranging from one to imprisonment for sub-

nd composition of the sources said it was include Jiri Muelier, student leader, along her people.

ek's reformist govern- several months in as replaced after the of Czechoslovakia by other Warsaw Pact agust of that year.

nder Arres
t intellectuals, jour- former senior Com- ty officials are among have been under arrest for some time.

lud- journalists Karel Vlasak, Nepras, so- Adolf Batek, historian scientist Karel Kaplan party leaders Milan Littera and Jaroslav

y officials are expected on similar charges of at a later date.

ending trial follows the zening of chess grand- dock Pachman to two imprisonment on four ending subversion. Mr. ras immediately releas- of ill health and the he had already spent

ase was seen by West- ers as aimed at lowering political temperature ow in Czechoslovakia, olding protests in the

ist party leader Gustav s promised that there show trials, but he has at anybody who has e country's laws will ment.

Cable Car ily Loaded in a Fatal to 12

N, Switzerland, July 14 a six-man government ing team today studied that an overweighted used Wednesday's cable- ident which killed 12

able-car ped 2,000 feet, supporting cable when line hauling it to the ped and its emergency lid.

-year-old girl and a 17- boy, both from West r, survived and were re- in Erig Hospital, doctors

gh the cabin was carry- 14 passengers out of a 50, more than 4,400 the ing material was slung ath the car for a build- ect at Bettmeralp, at the the cableway.

team trying to discover uses of the accident- and's worst cable-car investigated the possibi- the extra weight caused ing cable to break and he emergency brake give der the strain.

said no foreign tourists han the children's mother nvolved in the accident, other victims were Swiss.

lith Todd Quits Rhodesia, ws to Keep Fighting Smith

DON, July 14 (AP). — Todd, 28-year-old dang- ce-Southern Rhodesian r Carfield Todd, arrived today after being ordered Rhodesia and declared he will continue to fight the minority regime there. I am invited to write ally about Rhodesia, I will eren at the risk it could my father's position a little delicate," she told new-

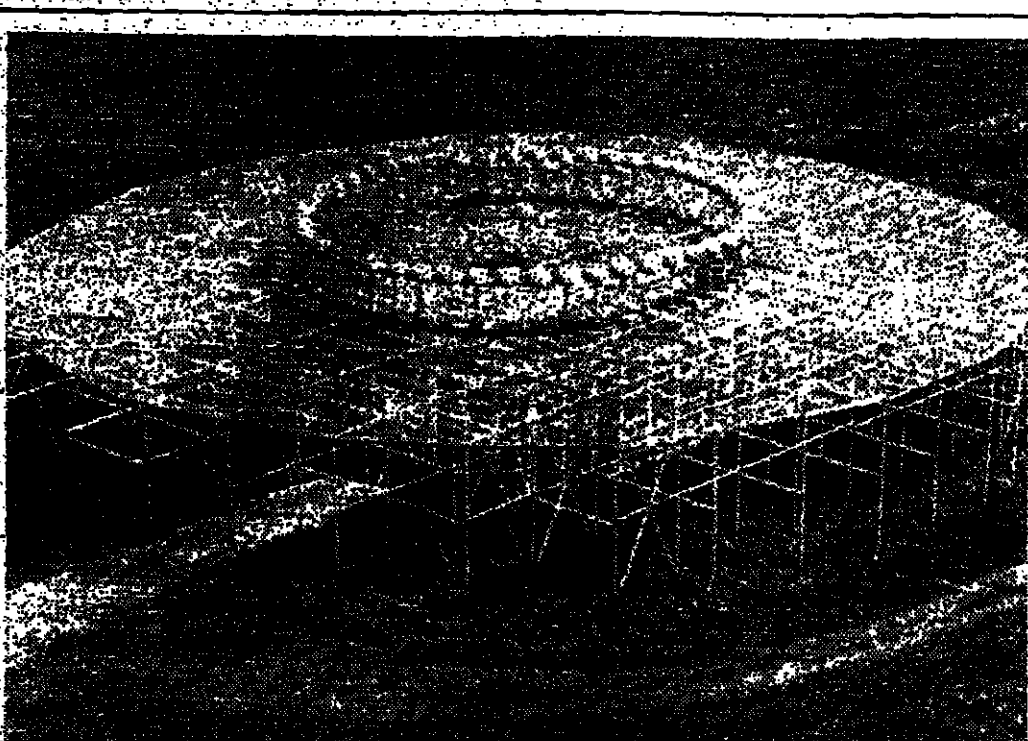
Todd was detained with

S. Missionaries d by Thailand

NGKOK, July 14 (AP). — A court today sentenced two oun missionaries to six is in jail after finding them of sacrilege.

ce identified the two Amer- as Joseph K. Wall of Utah Cimhall Larson of Michigan. were arrested yesterday in rn Awan, 150 miles north of rok.

ice said that Mr. Wall, a on missionary, sat on the of an ancient 15-foot ha and Mr. Larson photo- red him. The photograph sent to a Thai newspaper by y who worked in the shop developed the film. Its pub- on caused an upsur-



WHEELING IN—This odd contraption is not a giant roulette wheel but a modern Plessey beacon signal aerial for additional flight safety. Erected for test purposes at Biggin Hill air station in southern England, its circle of "mushrooms" looking like large press-buttons, are electrically controlled signals which switch on and off in succession to simulate rotation. A pilot with similar equipment can line up his aircraft with this beacon and immediately know if he is on or off course.

Soviet Envoy Protests Phrase By Marcellin

PARIS, July 14 (AP). — Soviet Ambassador Piotr Abram- sinov has protested to the French government over a remark made by Interior Min- ister Raymond Marcellin about what happens to Russians who criticize their government.

In a speech Tuesday, Mr. Marcellin referred to state- ments made by French Social- ists and Communists against the French government. He said that in the Soviet Union those who dare criticize the regime are considered to be abnormal and anti-social and are interned in psychiatric hospitals.

Orthodox Faction Requests Patriarchate to Quit Turkey

ISTANBUL, July 14 (Reuters). — Leaders of the Turkish Or- thodox Church called here for the removal to Greece of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Is- tanbul on the grounds that its presence here is not in the Tur- ish national interest.

The Turkish Orthodox Church, a small group that broke away from the ancient Istanbul Pa- triarchate of the Eastern Or- thodox Church following the Greek-Turkish war of the 1920s, described the Patriarchate as a Greek institution.

The call was issued before the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate meets to elect a successor to Patriarch Athenagoras I, who died a week ago.

The Turkish Orthodox Church, led by Patriarch Eftim, was ex- communicated by the Eastern Or- thodox Patriarchate when it was established.

In a statement, the Turkish church criticized the Ecumenical Patriarchate, accusing it of re- maining silent when Greek or Greek-Cypriot interests clashed with those of Turkey.

The presence of this Greek Patriarchate can, only be in Greece," the statement said.

Informal sources said that the Turkish Orthodox Church carried little weight in wider ecclesiastic affairs, but its appeal to nation- alist sentiment is a new factor at a time when friction has been generated over the question of the successor to Patriarch Athe- nagoras.

Turkey regards the Patriarchate as an institution subject to

Missile Truck Breaks Down In Paris Bastille Day Parade

PARIS, July 14 (Reuters). — France today unveiled—with a small embarrassment—a new ad- dition to its nuclear arsenal.

The intermediate-range missile, part of a French nuclear strike force along with Mirage strategic bombers and nuclear submarines, was the highlight of the annual Bastille Day parade.

But official faces turned red when the truck carrying related equipment down the Champs- Elysees broke down in front of President Georges Pompidou.

It finally spluttered away in clouds of exhaust fumes only to stall again a little farther along the avenue.

The 30-ton missile, which has a 3,000-kilometer range, contrasted with Napoleonic-type cavalry in a

parade marking the 183d anni- versary of the French Revolution.

France left the NATO military command in 1966 and undertook to build an independent nuclear deterrent, carrying out nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Defense Minister Michel Debré this week had extended talks with U.S. defense officials on coop- eration and coordination between French and American forces and development.

President Pompidou told Amer- ican Ambassador Arthur Watson after today's parade that he was very satisfied with Mr. Debré's visit.

He also spoke of European security with the Soviet Ambas- sador, Pyotr Abramimov.

More than 7,000 armed forces personnel paraded on foot. A detachment of girl parachutists took part for the first time.

International Network Developing CIA Said to Find World Linkup by Terrorists

By Tad Szulc

WASHINGTON, July 14 (NYT). — The Central Intelligence Agency and other Western in- telligence services reportedly have traced numerous connec- tions between the Japanese ter- rorist Red Army, a Palestinian guerrilla organization, the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the Irish Republican Army and several other revolutionary movements.

Intelligence officials here said yesterday that an international revolutionary organization was developing from contacts between the Japanese terrorists, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the other groups, among them the Turkish People's Liberation Army and the Italian Red Brigade.

Officials said that a central office was established in Zurich late last year and that agents and "safe houses" were main- tained in Beirut and other Middle Eastern locations in several Eu- ropean cities and in Tokyo.

According to the intelligence of- ficials, the killing of 25 bystand- ers at Tel Aviv airport on May 30 by three Japanese terrorists of the Red Army, in concert with the Marxist-oriented Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was the first known instance of such international cooperation between guerrilla groups.

Increasing Contacts
The intelligence officials said that there was evidence of in- creasing clandestine contacts among many individual move- ments.

Representatives of some of the guerrilla groups conferred secretly with officials of the Irish Republican Army in Dublin be- tween May 26 and 28, according to the intelligence officials.

Each of the underground groups represented in the new interna- tional organization has carried out guerrilla actions such as kid- nappings, killings of officials and bank robberies in the country in which it is based.

The intelligence officials said that many of the revolutionary leaders appeared to have con- cluded that their efforts would be more effective if they were coordinated internationally.

In the case of the Popular

Front and the Japanese terrorists, the intelligence officials said, they had reached an "action" agreement late in 1970, after a series of hijackings of airliners by Palestinian commandos.

As a result of the agreement, they said, a training camp for Japanese revolutionaries was es- tablished near Beirut, in Janu- ary, 1971, by an unidentified Japanese woman and by Leila Khaled, a member of a Pal- estinian commando team that sought to hijack an Israeli air- liner between London and New York in September, 1970.

The intelligence officials noted that Miss Khaled's companion, who was killed in the attempted hijacking, was Patrick Arguello,

an American of Puerto Rican parentage and a member of an American group sympathizing with the Palestinian cause.

In November, 1971, a Popular Front delegation reportedly visit- ed Tokyo secretly, leaving behind a liaison agent with the Red Army.

Subsequently, the officials said, a number of Japanese terrorists, including those who were to partic- ipate in the Tel Aviv airport killings, were sent to a training camp of the Popular Front in Baalbek, Lebanon.

The intelligence officials noted that the surviving Japanese ter- rorist from the airport massacre, Kozo Okamoto, had testified at his current trial in Israel that

he received a fake passport in Frankfurt and then joined his two companions in Rome for the trip to Tel Aviv. They said that this confirmed reports that the guerrillas had well-organized sup- porters in several European capi- tals.

Anarchist Ring Linked to Crime In Switzerland

ZURICH, July 14 (AP). — Author- ities today disclosed that they have cracked a ring of Swiss anarchists alleged to figure in multiple cases of burglary, arson, drug offenses and attempted murder.

They said that members also supplied arms to West Germany's Baader-Meinhof terrorist group and an anarchist gang in West Berlin.

Federal Attorney General Hans Walder told a news conference that nine hard-core members of the Baendistrasse group are in custody.

Investigations involved a total of 41 suspects, including some who are still on the wanted list and others who were released after questioning, he added.

Mr. Walder said that group members would be charged with plotting to conspire against Switzerland's constitutional order as well as in attempted murder, attempted robbery, about 100 bur- glaries, 40 car thefts, forgery, drug offenses and illegal arms export.

Italian Walkout

ROME, July 14 (AP). — The 300,000 workers of Italy's textile industry struck for four hours today in one of their long series of walkouts protesting reduced employment. Two other large groups of workers threatened walkouts within the next week in demands over new contracts under negotiation. They were the chemical workers, who have called a strike for July 21, and build- ing and construction workers, threatening a walkout July 20.

Only big countries have big airlines.

So naturally an airline from a little country like Swissair confines itself to 78 destinations. Forty of those are in Europe, which after all means only the fourth closestmeshed European network.

True, Swissair does fly 26 times a week from Europe to North America, but it hasn't managed anything bigger than a Boeing 747 B yet. And the handful of African cities (17, to be exact) that Swissair serves can't obscure the fact that the competing airline with the most destinations in Africa flies to a few cities more.

Not to mention the Far East, to which Swissair flies but once a day. (Even the exclusive non-stop flights between Geneva and Bombay and between Athens and Bangkok hardly make up for this.)

As you can see, it's no picnic being the air- line of a small country; so we won't even talk about our flights to South America. Just pick up our time table, and you'll appreciate the pickle we're in.

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JAZZ

Newport in New York—A Musical Miracle

By Leonard Feather

LOS ANGELES.—The news from this vantage point is that you can't live in an orchard without tiring of apples, particularly when the orchard is jazz and the apple is the big one itself, New York City.

George Wein's nine-day wonder, also known as the 19th annual Newport Jazz Festival and the first to be held away from its original home, was the longest

lasting and most ambitious undertaking in the 70-year history of the art.

After last year's Rhode Island brouhaha, producer Wein was down for the count of nine. He has not only arisen triumphantly but by his move to New York has worked inestimable benefits for the image of the music, as well as for the city itself.

Edward Kennedy Ellington was proclaimed official host of Fun City's summer festival. John Birks Gillespie received the

Handel Medallion, the city's highest cultural award, in a ceremony with Mayor John V. Lindsay. Jumping the gun on Wein, Citi Records staged a concert the night before Newport began, with Esther Phillips, Johnny Hammond and 10 others attracting a capacity crowd to Madison Square Garden.

Even for the dissident musicians who thought the whole thing a shuck because they hadn't been invited, the festival was a boon. They staged their own 10-day rump "New York Musicians Jazz Festival" at a dozen spots in Harlem and Greenwich Village.

The music flowed out into the streets. Seventh Avenue was closed to vehicles for 10 blocks as a Sunday community cultural fair was staged with Newport supplying the jazz.

Adding all these facts together, you begin to draw an exhilarating conclusion: Even where the hardest-headed polymathes are at the controls, the word jazz is taking on a profitable rather than a pejorative connotation. It is noted that while the number of young jazz fans grows, conversely there is no conspicuous upsurge in the statistics for 50 or 60-year-old rock fans.

Concert promoters now see more clearly the contrast between a jazz and a rock audience. We have all seen or heard about the vandalized auditoriums in rock concert aftermaths: the velvet chairs slashed with knives, the wine splashed against walls, the wrecked furniture. During its nine days, Newport covered the town from Carnegie to Philharmonic Hall, from Radio City to Yankee Stadium, and the greatest incident reported was a mustard stain when somebody dropped his hot dog.

The essential difference lies in motivations. People simply do not turn to Oscar Peterson for music to freak out by; they never OD to Cannonball or McCann or Monk, nor do they expect B. B. King to smash his guitar for a finale while they invade the

stage. The fools on the hill who destroyed Newport in 1971 were a non-jazz minority with no place else to go.

In New York, using mainly indoor locations, Wein had total control of a better, friendlier scene. True, the picnic ambience of Newport was missed, but look at the compensations. Here was a sumptuous artistic spread for an immediately accessible urban audience: I saw infants in arms, children, longhairs and graybeards, blacks and whites, all in greatly varying proportions according to the menu.

Of all the good times, I recall most fondly the boisterous Hudson on the Fourth of July. We took off on the Staten Island Ferry, a 285-foot boat called the John F. Kennedy making its maiden run. The music was geared to the traditions of jazz's riverboat origins, with the Tuxedo and Preservation Hall Bands, both from New Orleans. They were marvelous to watch, these garbled men revisiting a fading past; but ironically, the freshest New Orleans music aboard was supplied by a cornetist from Denmark, Papa Bue, whose Viking Jazz Band translated the idiom of the Bayou with remarkable authenticity.

Nowhere was the friendly give-and-take among musicians, or between jazzman and listener, more rewardingly displayed than at Radio City Music Hall. Both midnight jam sessions were filled to the 6,200-seat capacity.

The first session began with a collection of swing veterans: Roy Eldridge, Vic Dickenson, Benny Carter, Bud Freeman, Red Norvo, Bobby Hackett, Teddy Wilson, and a couple of younger interlopers. With old pros like that there was no procedural trouble; each man took two choruses, with Eldridge working up enough steam to get the crowd truly involved. Then came a big, sentimental hand for Gene Krupa as he took over from Bobby Rosenbarden at the drums. Kids for whom Krupa is a name on a TV rerun whistled and stomped for this glimpse into a world their fathers had told them about.

For the second set Wein fielded men of the bop generation: Dizzy Gillespie, Milt Jackson, Stan Getz, Benny Green. Also the timeless, serene-faced Mary Lou Williams at the piano. The sounds were now more complex, and PA problems upset the delicate balance—still, the enthusiasm was identical to that accorded the first group.



Roland Kirk
... tomorrow's sounds

Logically, the modernists jammed last. Herbie Hancock, Tony Williams and Roland Kirk celebrated the sound of tomorrow on a stage that had never in its 40 years accommodated this music in any form. Years from now New Yorkers will be talking about the night jazz took over the music hall.

More than any other individual, Gillespie was the symbol of all that is healthy in the creation and dissemination of jazz. He played with staggering virtuosity in every setting assigned him—with the all-star giants of jazz, with his own combo, with the 100 youngsters of the choir, and at the jam session. He took his music seriously enough to afford to lace the edges with humor, introducing his white pianist and guitarist as "a native of the Congo" and "a native of Nigeria" before announcing his black drummer and bassist as natives of Dublin and Stockholm. Underlying the comedy was an implication: "This is where it's at, man; we're all soul brothers."

As for Wein, I share the musicians' respect for this man who worked a logistic and musical miracle, with a staff of just a half dozen helpers, juggling 600 musicians at 45 performances, dealing coolly with the behavior of Miles Davis, who walked out on very short notice ("Maybe we'll get him some other year"), and generally acting like the eye of a hurricane.

© Los Angeles Times

EMILY GENAUER

Footnotes to Europe's Museums

NEW YORK—Here with footnotes on a European holiday. And I mean footnotes, random jottings made during miles of hiking through museums reaching from Norway to Italy.

Norway first, then, because it's where I started, being a Norway nut. I love that country, and most especially Oslo, because it's one of the few cities I know sophisticated enough to afford the amenities of a capital, but small enough so the woods and the sea seem at the end of every street.

Two special targets for me this trip. One was the Sonja Henie Museum, more correctly titled the Henie-Onstad Foundation.

I remember hearing, in the old days, when Henie was ice-skating champion of the world (10 world championships, three Olympic championships, and I don't know what else), that she was also seriously interested in contemporary art. Her husband, Nils Onstad, a shipbuilder, was a major collector. Together they built a museum and cultural center for Oslo, its architecture by two young men who won out over 90 other contestants in an international competition (they had never done a museum before). The building was completed shortly before Miss Henie's death three years ago.

The building sits on a promontory of the Oslo fjord, facing an anchorage crowded with sailboats. It has five separate pavilions fanning out as cards in a player's hands.

The Difficulty

The difficulty, however, is that the beautiful notion of flowing, flexible space provides very little room, actually, for the display of art. So much is made available for a mixed-media theater, spacious walkways, cafeterias, sitting spaces, that the permanent collection has to be almost entirely stored away. What the museum remains, then, is a laboratory for new lighting techniques, new building materials, new devices for the circulation of crowds—in a word, a playground for architects. It is only a sometime background for some stunning examples of works by Dufuffet, Klee, Miró, Gris, Munch, Picasso, Max Ernst, Villon, Tamayo—most of which I saw in the storerooms.

The temporary exhibition filling most of the available space at the time of my visit was given to what the Norwegians call Viking art but should, more correctly, be called Norwegian medieval art. This being the 1,000th anniversary of the Kingdom of Norway, several such exhibitions are being held, chief among them—my second Norwegian target—in the Oslo Historical Museum.

This one is special in that everything it contains comes from collections abroad. The Norwegians are very pleased with this assembled evidence that they are not alone in their admiration of the incredibly delicate and complex carving, combined with great, sweeping rhythms, the majestic Viking ships preserved in a special museum just outside of Oslo.

The whole question, highly pertinent at this time of enormously increasing public interest and forever shrinking funds, of how a museum should serve, and whom, was strikingly dramatized for me at Louisiana, a museum a three-quarter-hour train ride outside Copenhagen. Louisiana is the

name of a beautiful country house on a great estate bordering the sea. Forget the sea, as it is Joseph Hirschhorn's house and grounds, Greenwich, Conn., or the Warburg gallery in Baltimore, or several others about the United States. The interior and grounds are filled up—but guess anyone, you can't miss. Here a Reg. Moore (or maybe six or seven), there a Brancusi, a Giacometti, there an Arp. Calder, of course in both mobiles and stabiles. Iousteguy, so tainly. Pomodoro, Marini, Nevelson, the stylish roster of sculptors. And inside are paintings by Francis Bacon, Max Ernst, Picasso, Braque, G. Esner, Dubuffet, Warhol, Indiana, De Soem, Pollock, etc., etc.

Question: Must all museums be exactly the same, own works by precisely the same artists, those who have made it on the international circuit?

I suppose the answer has to be yes, and what not? What is good enough for New York is good enough for Copenhagen, Oslo, wherever. We shouldn't visitors to a country museum come to Copenhagen see splendid examples of works by the artists generally acclaimed by the art establishment to be the best anywhere? Museums are not built for globe-trotters like me, who see on seeing the same thing.

And yet... Are we absolutely certain they are the only good ones? I could draw up a list of another 50 or even 100 artists no less accomplished. Must there be Henry Moores by a dozen, good as he is? Could the explanation be not that museum directors buy the same stuff because they are The Best, but because, being so highly publicized, they are the safest investments, the ones that will make their institutions as important as some others, and the ones whose manufacture will most readily agree to buy? Should I maybe just stay home, so I don't grow irritated by the sameness, the monotony of the museum world?

But no. I saw a museum in Verona a couple of weeks ago whose impact and image will stay with me always. What it contained was the usual. Usual, indeed! Usual, that is, for a museum in Italy, which is to say it contained fantastically fine works by Mantegna, Veronese, Titian, Tintoretto, Caracciolo, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Guadagni. No point in cataloguing them all again.

What was so marvelously satisfying here was that the museum, located inside the 16th-century Castle of San Pietro, is the most modern, imaginative structure I've seen anywhere. Its exhibition area for one thing, might be described as being sculptured out of space. Its staircases are themselves works of sculpture. Connecting the galleries are bridges overlooking the castle keep. The whole structure is like something Marcel Breuer might have meant for his Whitney Museum to be, before it came out looking like a monstrous cross between a sitting duck and a fortress.

But the exhibition techniques themselves were exciting. Fragments of ancient frescoes displayed on modern steel frames. Panels of iron. Pictures on ingenious swinging frames one can turn at the light.

In some mysterious way the architects have done, in this museum of old masters precisely what every museum exists to do—make a connection between old and new, stressing the continuity and oneness of creativity.

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70	Jean Eté	Watchmaker-Jeweler
76	Castillo	Ready-to-Wear
82	Co. Française de l'Orient et la Chine	Gifts from China
83	Sweater's Bazaar	Ladies' Luxury Fashion
155	McDouglas	Suede-Leather Fashion

OPEN SATURDAYS



Traveler's Guide To VIENNA

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8.08 8.83	Cun S8	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
1.00 0.00	Cun S9	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
7.46 10.17	Cun S10	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
8.08 8.83	Cun S11	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
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7.46 10.17	Cun S13	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
8.08 8.83	Cun S14	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
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8.08 8.83	Cun S20	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
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7.46 10.17	Cun S58	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
8.08 8.83	Cun S59	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
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8.08 8.83	Cun S98	15.13 20.03	Scythia	10.00
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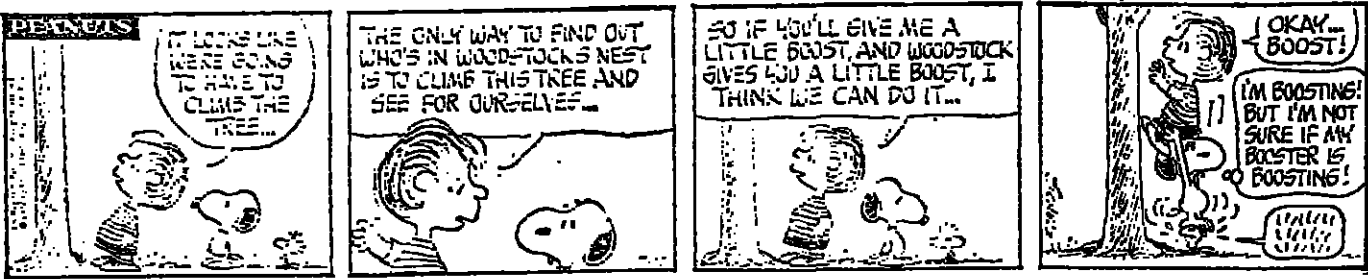
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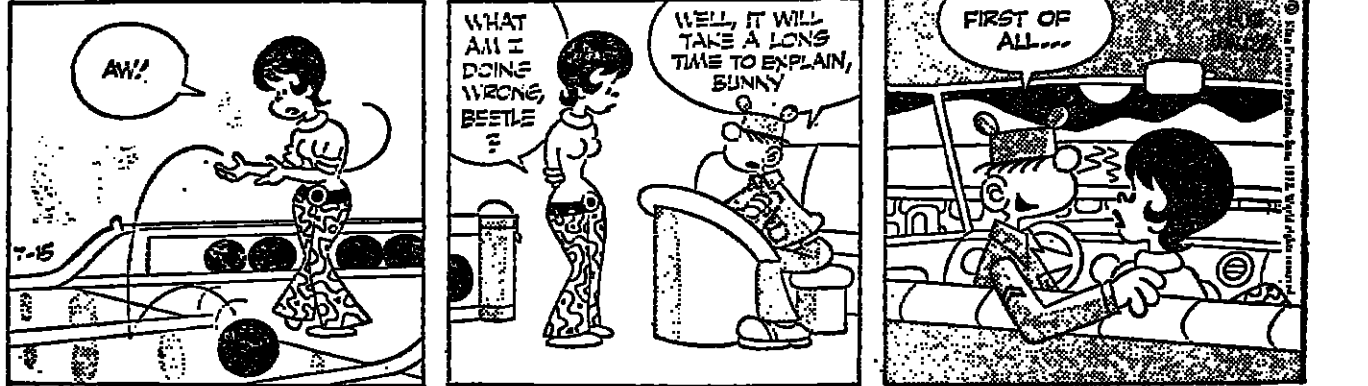
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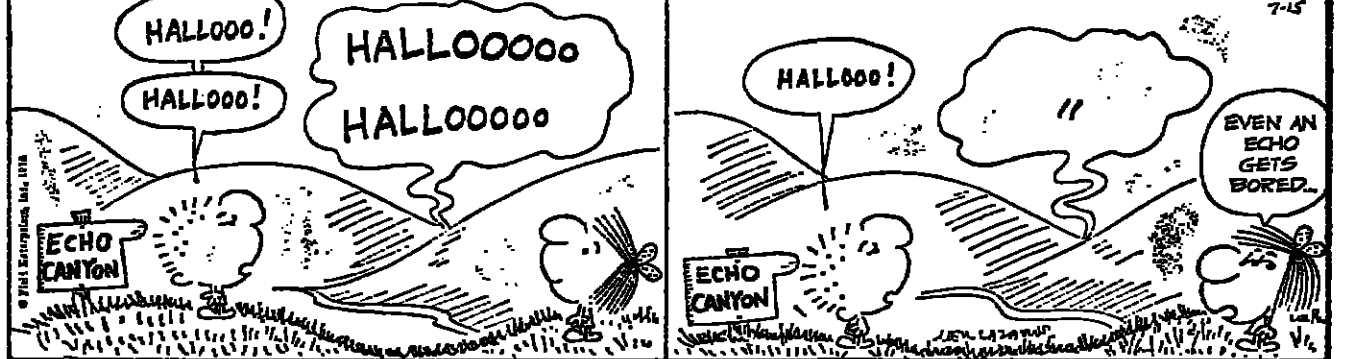
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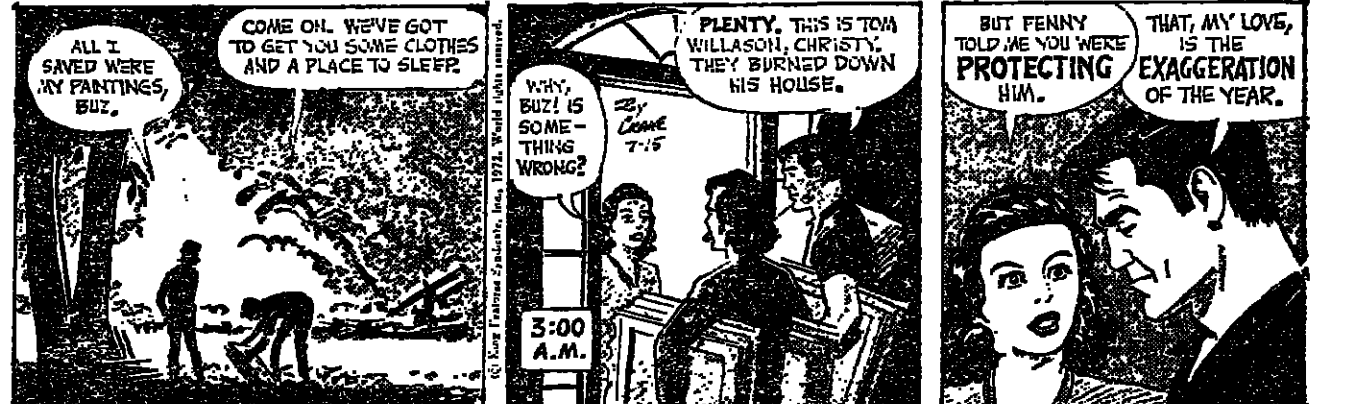
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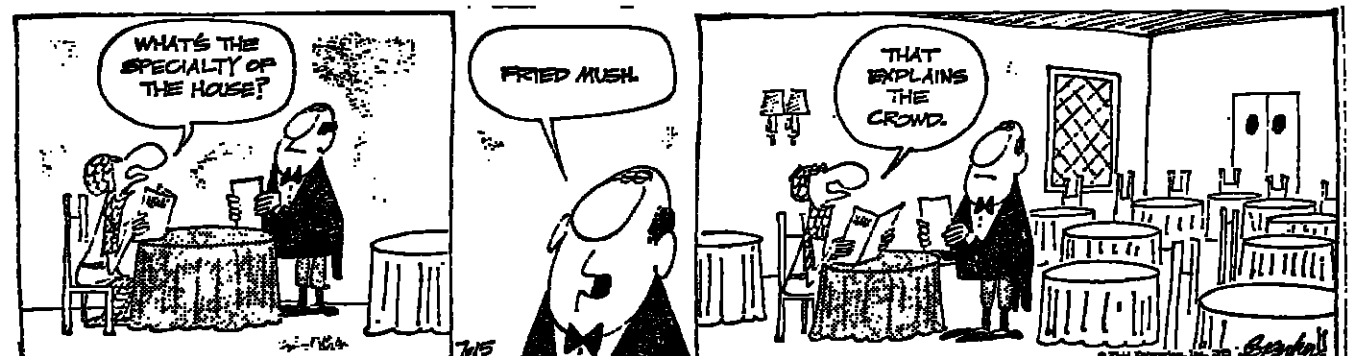
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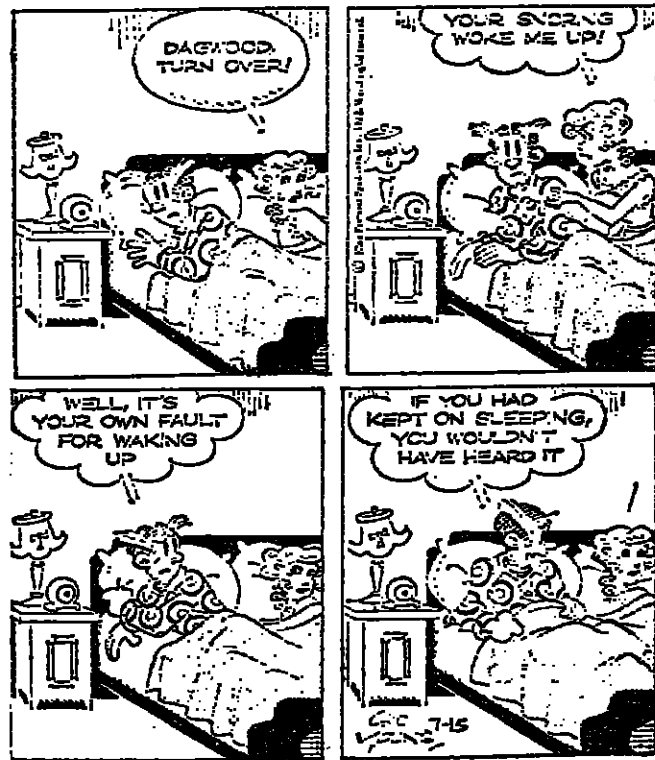
POGO



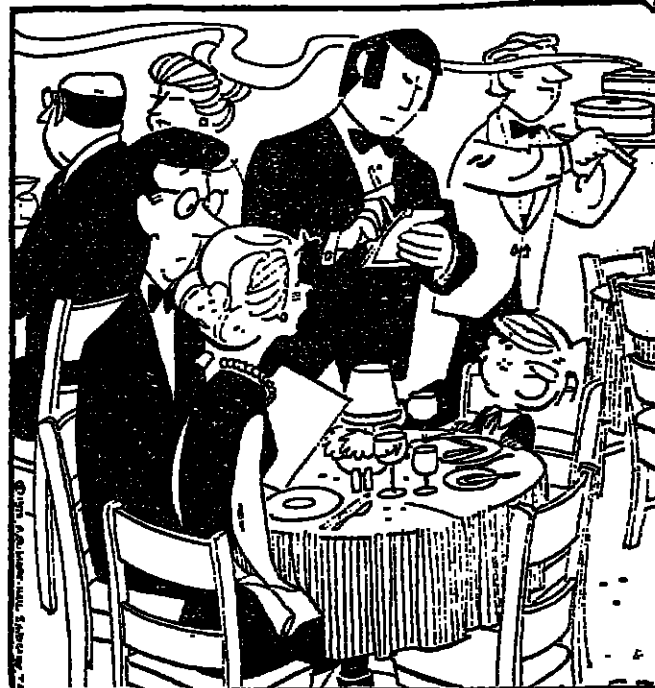
RIP KIRBY



BLONDIE



DENNIS THE MENACE



JUMBLE - that scrambled word game

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

RAYE

LOCON

UNNOIB

TREEMP

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

FOR PEOPLE DOWN THERE THIS PLACE COULD BE NO FINER.

Answers: Monday

Yesterday's Jumbles: COCOA HASTY PONDER TACKLE

Answers: This drink might put an end to rumors - SCOTCH

CROSSWORD PUZZLE

WONDERING - By C. McInerney

Edited by WILL WEN

DOWN

1. In the face

2. Sea passage

3. Charles's harbor

4. Maybes

5. Declared

6. Hockey teams

7. Wee, in Dundee

8. Outcome of a

9. Civil well-being

10. One-up job

11. Kind of pronoun

12. Non's opposite

13. Dry bones

14. Cover for Cheaps

15. Manned forte

16. Seven - of

17. Scissors order

18. Cuddling love

19. High note

20. Rocky peak

21. Devote in Latin

22. Kind of Science

23. Chemical suffices

24. -a Salm

25. French wine

26. Demeter

27. Ship pilot's concern

28. N.Y. time

29. Seven malfa

30. With seven -

31. Rose Jander

32. Cashbox

33. You follower

34. Beller's mates

35. Tree trunk

36. Gopher's bright

37. Donkey, Prefe

38. Gandy and

39. Scold a girl

40. Eccentric's after

41. Helix - Abbr.

42. Cole of Texas

43. Elmer's

44. Little fellow

45. Poetic word

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